

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I will pledge myself to this House, and to this country, to show, that all the waste and profligacy, that attends places and pensions, is so great as to be sufficient to maintain with bread all the labouring poor of this country. I do not speak hastily and at random; I have information to proceed upon, for I have been in a situation, in which I had an opportunity of examining into these matters."

—MR. SHERIDAN'S SPEECH, MARCH 13, 1797. See POLITICAL PROTEUS, p. 427.

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THE NAVY.

SIR.—Your brief strictures on the blockade of Brest, contained in your Weekly Register of the 11th instant, are justly entitled to the attention of your numerous readers. They must, therefore, regret with me, that you are precluded by the extent and variety of political objects which occupy your time, and demand your attention, from entering more fully into this most important subject. I shall, however, with your permission, solicit the attention of your readers to its farther discussion. Actuated by this consideration, and convinced of the utility and public advantages resulting from this dedication of your time to the service of our country, I shall, with your permission, call the attention of your readers to this most important subject, which you have leisure minutely to investigate.—We are told by the advocates for the blockade of Brest, that it is absolutely necessary to confine the enemy's fleet in that harbour, to prevent the mischief that must inevitably occasioned by a descent on Ireland, or on the western coast of Britain, even though victory to us would be the probable and ultimate result. It is also suggested by a writer who has lately undertaken the defence of this measure, (and I believe the only one who has done so) that by suffering the enemy's fleet to come out of Brest, their officers and seamen might require, by practice, a bolditude and expertness of manœuvring which would soon give them that superiority in naval tactics and maritime power, which are the principal objects of their ambition. It is also sagaciously remarked, that though the event of the Brest fleet putting to sea, and coming to action with the British, there would be little doubt but the latter would, as usual, prove victorious, such victories would produce the same effects as those of Charles XII of Sweden, over the Czar Peter; they would instruct our enemies to conquer us. This evil, the blockading system, would not only effectually prevent, but it would, at the same time, by ensuring our officers and seamen to a life of unremitting vigilance, peril, and fatigue, render the acknowledged

superiority we have already obtained, still more pre-eminent. These are, if I do not greatly mistake, all the arguments that have been advanced in favor of the blockade of Brest; and I have endeavored, in stating them, to give them all the force they possess. *Valeant quantum valere possint.* On a subject of such importance, and at a crisis so awful and alarming, the arguments on each side of the question should be impartially stated, and attentively considered. All ideas of prejudice and party should be excluded from the discussion, and the preponderance of reason alone should determine that public opinion, to which, in times like these, when the safety, and even the national independence of the British empire is at hazard, ministers and opposition ought to be equally attentive and amenable.—In this spirit of free and impartial inquiry, so congenial to that which so eminently distinguishes the Weekly Register from the ephemeral publications of its contemporaries, I shall proceed to the consideration of those arguments which operate against the blockading system, so far as it relates to the Brest fleet.—With respect to Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, the Texel, and all the ports opposite the eastern and southern coast of England, no one, I apprehend, can entertain a doubt, but the blockading system should be rigorously and unremittingly maintained.—The proximity of these harbours, and others, where numbers of armed vessels and gun-boats are assembled for the avowed purpose of effecting our destruction, and where thousands of the enemy are represented as being, at all times, ready and eager to make the desperate attempt, is, of itself, a sufficient argument for keeping them in a state of continual blockade.—To this consideration may be added the comparatively small number and rate of ships, the moderate expense, the trifling hazard, the evident facility, and the incalculable national benefit of the blockading system, thus applied.—It also possesses this farther local advantage, that our blockading squadrons on these stations are neither exposed to the complicated dangers of an enemy's coast,

nor to the destructive ravages of an open, tumultuous ocean, during gales of wind.—To all these perils and calamities, and to many more which I shall now proceed to consider, the channel fleet, employed in the blockade of Brest harbour, is continually exposed.—To enumerate the hazards, the casualties, the destruction of masts, sails, rigging, with every other valuable article of naval stores, and the enormous expenses with which repair of these losses, and the maintaining * *two* blockading fleets of decidedly superior force to that of the impotent enemy it confines, are necessarily attended, would be needless waste of time.—A reference to the daily newspapers, and a recollection of the present tempestuous and dreadfully destructive winter, too evidently evince these melancholy facts.—But though our blockading channel fleets have suffered mutilation, they have escaped destruction. Happily for this nation, they have as yet escaped that quick dissolution, to which the improvident absurdity of their destination has hitherto, and does still, continually expose them. On this occasion, too much praise cannot be bestowed on the gallant commanders, officers, and seamen, employed on this ruinous and disheartening service; nor can we sufficiently express our gratitude to the Almighty, for preserving the glory and defence of our empire, the terror and envy of surrounding nations, the *unconquered* British navy, from the continual dangers to which it is improvidently and pusillanimously exposed, by the disgraceful system of blocking up a contemptible and inferior force in an enemy's harbour. There they may practice in safety, and at their leisure, every manœuvre and improvement in naval tactics, which it is pretended our wise system of blockade is so well calculated to prevent.—But of what avail is it to the British nation, that our triumphant navy has escaped the overwhelming ruin in which a gale of wind on an enemy's coast might in a few hours involve it, if a destruction less swift, but possibly far more sure, must be the result of this impolitic system, this constant source of gratulation and ridicule to our subtle, inveterate enemy!—The wasting and rapid decline of our navy, so justly lament-

* “*Two* fleets,”—one off Brest, one in port ready to occupy its station, in case it should be dispersed or disabled.—In the Morning Chronicle of this day, the fleet off Brest is stated to be 25 sail of the line! While this superfluity of force is thus hazardously employed in blockading an armament which half of it would probably defeat, and certainly confine, the force in the Downs appears to be much too weak.

ed, and so accurately described by your well-informed correspondent Z. in your last week's Register, is (as he has remarked) accelerated, in a most alarming degree, by the blockade of Brest, which, without affording the most trivial public benefit, is prolific in national evils.—It is thus we are made by a crafty, insidious foe, the suicides of our late transcendent power, our unexampled opulence, our envied glory! By the bugbear of invasion, arrayed in the ostentation parade of preparation, they keep us in continual alarm; call forth our most powerful energies; exhaust our astonishing, but by no means boundless resources, making our strength itself the cause of our destruction, and finally reducing us to the humiliating state of the wretched maniac, who, goaded to unnatural efforts, falls an impotent, nervous victim to his pusillanimous, crafty, and sailants.—Having considered the arguments urged in favor of the blockade of Brest, the answers to them, and the various and incalculable evils which a perseverance in the favorite measure of administration most inevitably produce, it remains to shew, why this system, which has always been successfully adopted, and universally approved in the late and former wars, should now be deemed impolitic and censurable. In the prosecution of this design, I shall endeavour to demonstrate that, circumstanced as we now are, and have been during the whole continuance of the present blockade of Brest, (provided it be really true that our channel fleet is *superior*, or even *nearly equal* to that of the enemy) his putting to sea, so far from being a tremendous event, would probably be the most favourable circumstance we could possibly wish for.—But having, I fear, already trespassed too much on your limits if not on your patience, I must defer my farther communications on this subject to a future letter; and remain, Sir, your constant reader and humble servant,

Feb. 21st, 1804.

BRITANNICUS

SUPPLEMENT to the Correspondence between Lord Fingall and Lord Redesdale, to which is added the justificatory Narrative of Mr. O'NIEL.

A Letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, to the Right Honourable Lord Redesdale, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

Middleton, January 26, 1804.

MY LORD,—If the heavy weight of insinuation whereby I am aspersed in your lordship's recent correspondence with the Earl of Fingall, were not as unfounded in

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bed by you in your remarks on my conduct, as remarkable in degree, by the way you have put it, as is the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, in your letter to the Duke of York, dated the 21st of January, 1804. I have, however, no objection to your lordship's remarks on my conduct, as they are founded on a misapprehension of my conduct, and are founded on untrue suggestions. I must then persuade myself that being at least as much inclined as you are warranted to do such act of justice, you will be equally ready to cancel your own severe sentence upon me, when your lordship shall have considered the extent of the injury, and shall have detected the misinformation that grounds it. In your letter to the Earl of Fingall, your lordship would convince that Roman Catholic nobleman how little faith is due to Roman Catholics in their professions of loyalty, by representing to him that I, a Roman Catholic bishop, have been treating with pointed disrespect those of my clergy who in the year 1798, had saved the lives of loyal men; and in honouring as a martyr, with insult to the offended justice of the laws, a priest supposed to be deeply implicated in the rebellion, and permitted to return from transportation through the mere indulgence of government. This sentence, my lord, will, by easy implication, be thought to insinuate that, beside being a traitorous, a perjured hypocrite, I am also an abettor of murder—a sanguinary monster under sheep's clothing of Episcopal Consecration, who, while I preach the loyalty I have sworn, am sanctioning by my conduct the murder of loyal men; and promoting as far as in me lies, a rebellious spirit among my clergy, by reserving my chief attentions for such of them as were said to be guilty of rebellion. A dreadful insinuation, indeed; deriving multiplied effect from your lordship's character and station! It would bear heavily upon me, my lord, had it been no more than a sudden explosion bursting from an ordinary nobleman in the heat of altercation: but how much more oppressive as a sentiment committed to writing by the cool, unruffled, discriminating impartiality of a Lord High Chancellor, in a letter to a Roman Catholic peer; for the obvious purpose of wounding the Roman Catholic religion, through the de-

gradation of a Roman Catholic bishop; and if unrefuted by me, or rather if not explained by your lordship as an unintentional mis-statement, it must go down to posterity with irreparable injury to myself; and by association, perhaps to the community I belong to. It becomes, therefore, imperative upon me, my lord, to convince you that you have here most grievously misrepresented me, through the unfounded suggestions of others: after which I cannot but hope that your lordship will be forward to acknowledge the error, and equally disposed to regret it.— I now beg leave, however humiliating the asseveration, to declare before that awful tribunal, where your lordship, as well as I, shall one day be arraigned, that were it possible an angel from Heaven could propose to me, not the mace of your lordship, not the sceptre of my Sovereign, but the uncontroled dominion of this globe, as a reward for assenting to the murder of the meanest wretch that ever moved upon it, I should consider myself bound to say to that angel, with St. Paul, “be thou accursed;” nor for so saying should I raise myself in my own estimation above the lowest line on the scale of negative merit. Neither do I claim a higher place for declaring, as I now do in the presence of God, that being a liege subject of his Majesty King George the Third, I hold myself bound by the dictates of my religion, independently of the oaths I have taken, to bear him true allegiance, and to inculcate the same obligation upon all those who are subject to my jurisdiction. Nay, further, I declare myself more firmly bound to him by the dictates of my religion, than by every tie: being as little able in adverse circumstances to answer for my loyalty to the King, without the aid of my religion, as to answer for my fidelity to God, without the aid of his grace. Conformably to this impression, my lord, I have enforced, with particular energy, the duty of allegiance both in my public and private instruction, during the troubles of 1798, strictly enjoining my clergy to withhold the sacred rites from all persons implicated in the treason of that time, until the oath and the treason it cemented should have been first abjured: by which means, many hundreds, if not many thousands, were detached from that treasonable compact who to this very day might have adhered to it.—In answer to the allegation of pointed disrespect to those clergymen who were represented to your lordship as having saved the lives of loyal men, I can boldly assert in the face of this diocese, that the only priest I knew of, as coming precisely within that description, by

having given a timely notice to a gentleman whose life was threatened, is the very man I soon after selected for my vicar-general; and with him, at this day, in that confidential capacity, I continue on terms of sincere regard and affection. The other clergymen distinguished for loyal exertions at that trying period, will acknowledge, if called upon, that instead of treating them disrespectfully, I esteem them all and venerate them. That every priest of mine, however, is perfectly satisfied, is what I am not presumptuous enough to affirm: it seldom fails to be the lot of any one in my place, not to have individuals displeased with him; but I can confidently say that I know of only one clergyman in this entire diocese who considers himself aggrieved by my administration; and to that very clergyman I as confidently appeal whether what he complains of in my conduct towards him, has risen from his efforts in behalf of loyal men. If more minute inquiries, suggested by your lordship's pregnant charge, have since discovered to me a priest prostituting the sacred laver of regeneration, in compliance with the pusillanimous request of a loyal Protestant gentleman, who to court the rabble (when like others around him he should have opposed them) entreated this priest in their presence to baptize him; I shall never deem such condescension, whether elicited by good nature or by loyalty, entitled to extraordinary credit; much less can I look upon it as a counterpoise against every subsequent failure or inaptitude.—The Rev. Peter O'Neil, to whom your lordship alludes in this same letter to Lord Fingall, has been urged by the obloquy which assailed him, to lay the particulars of his situation before the public in an humble remonstrance forwarded to your lordship, through the post-office, at my own instance, the moment it issued from the press. It has, I trust, my lord, fully vindicated my conduct towards that much injured man, and removed the painful imputation of insult to the offended justice of the laws. It has, in my apprehension, demonstrated that his return was the concurrent act of two successive chief governors; the one suspending his transportation—the other ordering him home from it. Nor this, my lord, by way of pardon which was never solicited, but by an impartial decision upon the merits of his case. I will accordingly presume to hope, that your lordship, having duly considered the facts stated in his remonstrance, is rather inclined to think that the justice of the laws which had sunk under his condemnation, hath re-asserted its power, and triumphed in his acquittal.

Your lordship, I will also hope, has seen by this remonstrance, that Mr. O'Neil's re-statement in his former place, was not a much an act of mine, as the provision of a spiritual law, which in similar circumstances would restore a clergyman of the established church.—By thus shewing how strangely I was misrepresented to your lordship, I would not be understood to insinuate that the personage who had the honour of addressing you, intended to misrepresent me; I am fully convinced, my lord, that you would admit no man to your correspondence who could willingly deviate from the truth: but I am alike convinced that this personage, respectable as he doubtless is, must have been in the present instance most grossly imposed upon.—Neither the elevated rank of noblemen, nor their sacred regard to veracity, can always secure them against imposition from a certain class of men who artfully contrive to beset them—esquires of very late creation, who with matchless intrepidity of countenance, can assassinate characters or whisper them away, and swear their own falsehoods into currency. When the truly loyal are every where intent upon uniting all hearts and all hands in the common cause, and for the common good, these men are every where indefatigable in promoting animosity and distrust for their own private purposes. I shall say no more of them than barely to remind your lordship, how much easier it is for such gentry to make their impression, than for an honest man to efface it.—It remains for me to observe, before I close this letter, that upon the first intimation I received from a person of rank in the metropolis, that I have been traduced as above, I instantly wrote a refutation of the charges; and was then assured it should be laid before your lordship. But an unwillingness to intrude, has since, it seems, prevailed against the promise made me; which circumstance, together with the publication in the Star and other papers since, as they have compelled me to address your lordship in this direct manner, they will, I hope, at the same time, be graciously admitted as my apology. I have the honour to be, with inviolable respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most devoted humble servant,

W. COPPINGER.

Note.—On the second day after I had written and posted my letter to Lord Redesdale, I obtained a more accurate account of the paragraph concerning me, than the public prints or the prior communication afforded. The paragraph says, that I brought him (meaning Mr. O'Neil) back

has seen by Neil's reis was not a vision of a lar circum- man of the us shewing ented to your stood to in had the h ad to misre ed, my lord to your con gly deviate e convinced as he doubt present in upon. bleimen, nor can always from a cer contrive to te creation, of counte or whisper a falsehoods y loyal are g all hearts cause, and are even animosity e purposes, a barely n a easier t mpression, it. — re I clo estimation I n the me l as above, e charges; e laid be willingnes prevailed which c ilication in , as the r lordship hope, at mitted at to be, with our Lord it, NGER. er I had Lord Re account than the anication that I ill) back

to what in defiance of the law, I call his parish. I would gladly shelter myself, in this case, under the act of Parliament of the 21st and 22d of his present Majesty; entitled "an act for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects professing the Popish religion;" which act, as I conceive it, expressly requires that Popish ecclesiastics, to be exempted from former penalties, do insert upon a separate and distinct roll in the Register's Office of each respective diocese, their Christian name and surname, their age, the orders they have received, and the persons from whom they received them; as also their place of abode; and their parish, if they have a parish; a copy of which roll was to be annually returned by the Register, to the clerk of the Privy Council, under the penalty of 100l. But as the authority of Lord Redesdale, gives me now to fear that I have totally misconceived the meaning of this act, I can only supplicate his indulgence for an error, which, if not quite pardonable, will at least induce a milder qualification than defiance of the law. I am the more earnest in this petition, as his lordship has precluded me from any future recurrence to him; and from any further explanation, than what he has kindly descended to give in the following answer to my letter:

Ely Place, Dublin, Feb. 1, 1804.

SIR,—My letters to Lord Fingall (as far as they are the subject of your complaint) were a confidential statement to a person of high rank and character and supposed influence amongst the Roman Catholics, of representations made to me, the truth of which I did not assert, but communicated them to his lordship as I received them, that he might make proper inquiries; and if he found the representations to have any foundation, I hoped he might be induced to use his influence, (which, I find, I very much over-rated) to prevent what might produce considerable irritation in the minds of the Protestants of Ireland. These letters, therefore, ought to have remained in the closet of Lord Fingall: a different use has been made of them for purposes sufficiently obvious; but I am not responsible for a publication which is an abuse of my confidence, and perhaps also of the confidence of Lord Fingall. I have, I think, a right to complain of any publication of those letters; but I have a right most strongly to complain of the great injustice of that partial publication, which has afforded ground for the grossest and most malicious misrepresentation. Those who determined to abuse my confidence and (as I am informed) that of Lord Fingall,

would have acted a more manly, and so far a less blameable part, if they had given the whole correspondence as it has actually passed, in print, so as to be accessible to every one. Any publication I should have considered as a gross injustice; and must resent it as such. My letters could not have been injurious to you, if they had remained with Lord Fingall. If any injury had arisen to you from the publication, it would not have proceeded from me. But the letters, though published, could not have been injurious to you, had they stood alone, and without comment; for I did not mention your * name, nor did I know your name could be, in any manner, connected with the informations which I had received, and communicated to Lord Fingall, until Mr. O'Neil's pamphlet was sent to me, and, as you now tell me, at your instance. If that pamphlet makes an application which I never made, the application springs from Mr. O'Neil and yourself. You call that pamphlet "an humble remonstrance" I consider it as one of many extraordinary publications which have lately appeared; some imputed to high authority; others countenanced by high authority; the tendency of which is to insult the Protestants of Ireland, and their religion, and to irritate the different sects against each other. I have no disposition to attribute these publications to the Roman Catholics in general. On the contrary, I believe there are many, very many, who sincerely deplore their mischievous effect. But the publications demonstrate the temper of those who have composed and patronized them; and with a person who professes to consider Mr. O'Neil's pamphlet as "an humble remonstrance," I think I cannot prudently hold any correspondence, especially after the treatment I have experienced with respect to my letters to Lord Fingall. I shall therefore decline giving any further answer to your letter, which would unavoidably lead to a long and unpleasant discussion.

— I have the honour to be, Sir, your most humble servant, *REDESDALE.*

The Rev. Dr. Coppinger.

TO THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY OF THE COUNTY OF CORK.

*The humble remonstrance of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, R. C. Parish Priest of Ballymacoda, (vide note * No. 7, of the Correspondence).*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,— The present mild administration of his Majesty's government in Ireland, having graciously

* Mr. O'Neil, whose superior I am, is the only Roman Catholic clergyman in Ireland who has returned from Botany Bay.

some could give no answer, while others asserted that it was subsequent to that inquiry, this paper was discovered: again I call for it, let it be produced; and if it cannot, let common justice demand it for ever to its source—malignant calumny. It was my peculiar misfortune that the charges then made against me were not only withheld from myself, but even my friends had no intimation of them, except by common report, which then was busily employed in disseminating the various atrocities supposed to have been committed by me: but nothing specifically authenticated had transpired: the very committal was so vague as to have excited the astonishment of a professional friend of mine in Dublin, and to have eventually led to my discharge. I shall now proceed to the particulars of my case. Immediately upon my arrest, I was brought into Youghal, where, without any previous trial, I was confined in a loathsome receptacle of the Barrack, called the Black Hole, rendered still more offensive by the stench of the common necessary adjoining it. In that dungeon I remained from Friday until Monday, when I was conducted to the Ballally to receive my punishment. No trial had yet intervened, nor ever after.—I was stripped and tied up; six soldiers stood forth for this operation; some of them right handed, some left-handed men, two at a time (as I judge from the quickness of the lashes) and relieved at intervals, until I had received two-hundred and seventy-five lashes so vigorously and so deeply inflicted, that my back and the points of my shoulders were quite bared of the flesh.—At that moment, a letter was handed to the officer presiding, written, I understand, in my favour by the late Hon. Capt. O'Brien, of Rostellan. It happily interrupted my punishment. But I had not hitherto shaken the triangle; a display of feeling which it seems was eagerly expected from me. To accelerate that spectacle, a wire-cat was introduced, armed with scraps of tin or lead. (I judge from the effect, and from the description given me:) Whatever were its appendages, I cannot easily forget the power of it. In defiance of shame, my waistband was cut for the finishing strokes of this lacerating instrument. The very first lash, as it renewed all my pangs, and shot convulsive agony through my entire frame, made me shake the triangle indeed. A second infliction of it, penetrated my loins, and tore them excruciatingly: the third maintained the tremulous exhibition long enough—the spectators were satisfied.—I should spare you, my lords and gentlemen, the disgust-

ing minuteness of this last detail, but it will be found materially connected with a most dreadful charge which appears upon the minutes of a Court of Inquiry, held to investigate my case the year following in Youghal, under Gen. Graham, by order of the Marquis Cornwallis. Before this Court I was not brought; nor any friend of mine summoned thither to speak for me. It was even a subject of sarcastic remark in the prison-ship, that while I stood there among the sailors, my trial, as they termed it, was going on in Youghal. With the proceedings of that Court I am to this day unacquainted. It was ordered I know, in consequence of a memorial upon my situation, handed to a distinguished nobleman, and by him presented at the Castle; I was not consulted with regard to its contents. Unfortunately for me, it was peaned with more zeal than accuracy; setting forth, among other hardships, that after my punishment, I had been left without medical assistance (on the report, I presume, of a sister-in-law who visited me within the interval between the whipping and the apothecary's arrival) it further stated that I had been whipt and thrown into a dungeon; instead of stating, as it ought to have done, that I had been thrown into a dungeon and whipt. This inversion was fatal to me. For the evidence of Mr. Green, apothecary, most plausibly contradicted these allegations of the memorial; and that circumstance, when coupled with the subsequent horrid charges audaciously forged and foisted into the minutes of the inquiry, excited an almost invincible prejudice in the mind of the merciful Lord Cornwallis against me. For when, after a considerable lapse of time, my professional friend in Dublin renewed his efforts to save me, at the risk of being deemed importunate and troublesome, he was still graciously honoured with an audience, wherein to preclude all future interference, as quite infestual and hopeless, his Excellency directed Colonel Littlehales to read these minutes to my patron. They reported that I had freely avowed to Mr. Benjamin Green, apothecary, while he was dressing my wounds, at the time I was about to be sent on board the prison-ship, that I deserved all I had suffered and more; for I was privy to the murders, &c. &c. committed in my parish: that I could account for my conduct in no other way, than by attributing it to the instigation of the devil; and that I deserved to be shot. The cruel edge of this forged evidence was still further whetted by subjoining to it, that this Mr. Green was a Roman Catholic. My respectable intercessor,

recalled me from a painful and humiliating exile, to liberty in my native country, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to solicit your attention, while I endeavour, by a plain statement, to remove from your minds that odium which misrepresentation and obloquy have long excited against me; and which, unremoved, must render my existence here equally painful to you and to myself. Were this obloquy and misrepresentation confined in its effects to my own individual person, however desirable the reinstatement in your good opinion must be, I should hardly presume to intrude upon you; but my character affects, in some degree, that of the body to which I have the honour to belong; it interests the reputation of many respectable persons who have humanely interferred in my behalf; and what is still of far greater importance, it may possibly interest the reputation of his Majesty's government in Ireland, which with discriminating impartiality hath looked down upon me, enveloped as I was in a mist of calumny; hath stretched forth a parental hand to release me from imprisonment, to break my chains, and to expunge the hasty sentence which consigned me for a time to shame and suffering. I shall be particularly careful while you condescend to indulge me with a hearing, to confine myself to what is absolutely necessary for my exculpation. To express or even to harbour resentment, would ill become me at any time, but particularly now. I forgive from my soul every injury I have received, and every person concerned in inflicting it; not only religion requires this at my hands, but common sense and justice. — When I was arrested and punished, it was doubtless in the supposition that I was deeply engaged in the horrors which disgraced many parts of this kingdom at that distressing period; To have been pointed at, as an United Irishman; as concerned in the shedding of blood; as an abettor of treason; as assenting to, and encouraging murder; was naturally a death-warrant in that moment of irritation. If it were allowed me to complain, I should only find fault with the precipitancy of the proceedings which then afflicted me. Had I been favoured with a regular trial, or even a calm investigation, the error would have been discovered, and my misfortunes would have been obviated; but though the measures were precipitately adopted, they were so, under the full conviction of my flagitious guilt; and however painful to me, were certainly much lighter than such guilt would have deserved. Hanging were too mild for it: (and did my conscience charge

me at this moment with what I was accused of then, I should think myself favoured by transportation: I should hide my head during the remainder of my ignominious days, from the sight of the most atrocious fellow-criminals: but no proof of these enormities ever has, or ever can be adduced. My lords and gentlemen, I am now liberated: not through a pardon solicited for, or granted me; but on the merits of my case. To volunteer in perjury is an excess of wickedness so vile as not to be attributed to the most abandoned without the strongest proofs. Under a full conviction that an appeal to the God of Truth in support of known falsehood, would be nothing less than a call upon him to expunge my name for ever from the book of life; to withhold from me all participation in the merits of my Redeemer; to doom of its own nature, my soul to never-ending misery; I now most solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, upon his Holy Gospels, first, that I was never an United Irishman; that I never took that oath; that I never encouraged, advised, or permitted others to take it; but on the contrary that I dissuaded others from taking it; some of whom have had the generosity to make affidavit of my exertions in this behalf; and there are many who have candidly added that they would have taken it, had I not prevented them. Some of these affidavits have long since been laid before government, together with the other documents of my exculpation. Secondly, I do declare upon my oath that I never signed the death-warrant of any man; or an assent to the murder or to the death of any man; and that I never was asked to sign such death-warrant or assent. This declaration is further strikingly corroborated by the following circumstance: no such paper has ever been produced against me. It would have amounted incontrovertibly to conspiracy or murder; it would alone have condemned me to the gibbet, and there can be no doubt, if you consider the temper of my treatment, that such an important paper would not have been kept back through lenity. There are some gentlemen of this country, who have declared to others that will attest it, that they had this paper in their hand; that they knew my signature: I now call upon them most respectfully, most earnestly, and without intending the slightest offence; I challenge them, I defy them to produce it. When these gentlemen were asked by my friends, during my banishment, why this paper was not brought forward previous to my punishment; or before the court of inquiry, which was held upon me in Youghal,

being quite unprepared to meet such an accusation, hung down his head and withdrew. But he lost no time in communicating this reverse to my ordinary, Doctor Copperger, who was equally astonished at these assertions; but who seized the opportunity, until a refutation of all could be procured, to point, in the interim, to the designing and notorious falsehood of Mr. Green's catholicity. In a very few days Mr. Green himself spontaneously furnished my bishop with a peremptory denial of the above particulars, under his own hand: declaring moreover in a written acknowledgement, that no conversation had passed between him and the prisoner, but as between a medical man and his patient. This same gentleman also ingeniously presented himself at the parish chapel of Ballymacoda, offering to make oath, that he had not given the evidence here attributed to him. The Deputy Judge Advocate General, Major Ellis, has been pleased to transcribe these minutes, as far as they regarded Mr. Green, for the express purpose of contradicting this forgery. I shall now insert them, with his letter to the said Mr. Green.

Youghal, 28th July, 1800.

SIR,—“Your application to me for a copy of the evidence you gave at a Court of Inquiry, by order of Major General Graham, at which, by the said General's orders you were obliged to attend, I have not the smallest objection to give you, which I have taken verbatim from the original, now in my possession, and in which I cannot be mistaken, as you know I have acted as Deputy Judge Advocate General at the said Court.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD ELLIS.”

“Evidence given by Mr. Benjamin Green, apothecary, at a Court of Inquiry, which sat at Youghal, on the 28th of August, 1799, to inquire and investigate the conduct of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, formerly parish priest of the parish of Ballymacoda.

“Question by the Court.—As the prisoner has set forth in his memorial to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he was kept in a dungeon, and, after punishment, was neglected; not having his back dressed; the Court call upon you to declare what you know, as to that part of his memorial.

“Answer by Mr. Benjamin Green.—In less than two hours after O'Neil, the Priest had been punished, I attended him, and dressed his back; and gave him such medicines as I deemed necessary. The prisoner was confined in an airy, comfortable, healthy room, in the upper part of the gaol, where I visited him every day, and dressed his back, and

administered every assistance I judged necessary; not only to preserve his health, but likewise to heal his back; and when the prisoner was removed from the gaol to the guard-room, in order to be put on board of a boat, I then dressed him, and gave him a lotion to use afterwards, in order to preserve his health. And am sorry to be obliged to state, that I never received any payment for my medicines or trouble.—This is the whole of the evidence given by Mr. Benjamin Green.

RICHARD ELLIS

Dep. Judge Advocate Gen.”

Another respectable gentleman is represented in these minutes to have said, that immediately after my punishment, I acknowledged to him that I was privy to the murder of two soldiers; that I knew of a gun kept in my parish for the purpose of murder, and remarkable for the certainty of its aim: he is there beside stated to have said, that I made this declaration, not under any apprehension of punishment, but I seemed rather to speak, as one clergyman would to another, in a moment of contrition: such at least is the substance of this gentleman's words, as far as my friend in Dublin, to whom the evidence was read, could recollect it. Now from the nature of the communication, which it is here asserted I made, it will be naturally supposed, that the gentleman had a private interview with me after my punishment: but he himself is thoroughly persuaded that he had not. I never laid my eyes on him since I saw him at that time, in the public Ball-alley. During my flagellation he stood opposite me, close to the triangle, with a paper and a pencil in his hand, noting down whatever then occurred to him. He asked, did you know that the fire arms were taken from my house? My answer was rather too short—Sir, I heard you say so; but I felt at the moment, by heavier strokes, the consequence of my impoliteness. I really considered that gentleman, on account of his apparent insensibility at the time, as the very reverse of a friend; and while I now positively deny my having made the acknowledgment above reported, I shall take the liberty to ask; first, whether it be consistent with likelihood, that, when such a severe punishment and so witnessed by him, was over, I had selected that very gentleman in order to criminate myself to such a confident, without any possible advantage? I beg leave to ask, in the second place, if I had made this acknowledgment at the Ball-alley, why a certain subaltern, declaring that he had power to act as he pleased by me, should take me (naked and bleeding as I was) into a small

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om in a corner of the Ball-alley, and sternly told me, that if I would not now make an avowal of guilty, I should be brought out to receive a repetition of my punishment; and afterwards to be shot. And why he should repeat that menace the same evening in the gaol, and still more forcibly the day following. The circumstances of his exertions on that occasion, are too striking to be omitted. After I had answered him in the corner of the Ball-alley that I would suffer any death rather than acknowledge a crime whereof I was not guilty, he told me I should be set at liberty if I would agree to a certain proposal which he then made; but justice and truth commanded me to reject it. When conducted to gaol, after a lapse of three hours, I was presented with a refreshment: it appeared to be wine and water, but must have had some other powerful ingredient; for it speedily brought on a stupor. The same officer soon roused me from my lethargy, with a renewed effort to extort this avowal from me: he drew his sword; he declared he would never part with me until it were even in writing; he threatened that I should be forthwith led out again, flogged as before, shot, hanged, my head cut off to be exposed upon the gaol-top, and my body thrown into the river: that he would allow me but two minutes to determine. Then going to the door, he called for a srip of paper, while the sentinel swore terribly at the same time, that he would blow my brains out if I persisted longer in my refusal. Under this impression I scribbled a note to my brother, which they instantly tried out was what they wanted; the precise expressions of it, I do not at this moment recollect; it purported a wish that my brother might no longer indulge uneasiness upon my account, for I deserved what I got. The officer withdrew; my sister-in-law then got admittance: she told me, she had just heard the sentinel say, that during my entire punishment, nothing was against me: however, that the paper I had just written would assuredly hang me. I exclaimed that their dreadful threats had compelled me to write it; which exclamation being carried to the officer, he returned the next day: he called me to the gaol window commanding a view of a gallows, whereon two men were hanging; their bodies so bloody, that I imagined they were red jackets. A third halter remained yet unoccupied, which he declared was intended for me, should I persist in disclaiming the aforesaid note. Look, said he, at these men, look at that rope, your treatment shall be worse than theirs, if you disown what you wrote yesterday: adding

that it was still in my power to get free. I imagined from this, that he wanted money from me; or a favourite mare which I had occasionally lent him. My answer was, if you liberate me you shall always find me faithful; there is nothing in my power that I will not do. Do not then attempt, said he, to exculpate yourself, and so retired. I now procured your paper, whereon I wrote a formal protest against what he extorted from me as above; that, should I be executed, this protest might appear after my death.—I wrote a second, with the same design; but I left them both after me in the gaol; apprehensive, that should they be found in my possession, they might cause me to be treated with additional severity. Neither did I afterward, while in gaol, openly assert my innocence for that reason. Now, so little credit seems to have been attached to this paper, in any subsequent proceeding, that it was never after, to my knowledge, produced against me. Indeed there is reason to imagine that what this gentleman is reported to have advanced in the above minutes, was never said by him; because the same audacity which forged a declaration for Mr. Green, might be daring enough to forge a similar declaration for this gentleman. Thus by the providence of God, what was maliciously intended to ruin me, has in the event effected my release. Lord Cornwallis, whose discernment perceived, and whose generosity recoiled at this questionable proceeding, unhesitatingly issued an order for my removal from the transport. The following letter announces that order to my friend in Dublin:

"*Dublin-Castle, 30th June, 1800.*

"**SIR,**—I have had the honour to receive, and to lay before my Lord Lieutenant, your letter of the 28th instant, with its enclosure, and am directed to acquaint you, that his Excellency's commands have been this day conveyed to Major General Myers, to take the Rev. Peter O'Neil from on board the Ann, Botany Bay Ship, in Cork Harbour, and to cause him to be imprisoned until further orders, but not to treat him with harshness or severity.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

See also signature of E. B. LITTLEHALES."

I had sailed before this order arrived.

On this passage out a mutiny arose among the convicts, who, taking advantage of the moment when the captain was fumigating the ship, suddenly set upon, and tied him. The sentinel, a Malais, cried out to me in his own jargon, as I was walking the main deck, that there was war below; offering me his drawn sword, in order to fortify my in-

ference. What my conduct at that critical moment was, will come better from others. I shall only say that the most prompt and athletic exertion preceded my entreaties and rendered them essential. How, as well as by whom, the captain was extricated, without even the intervention of an officer, he himself can tell. Another gentleman, Mr. Piper, of the New S. Wales Corps, can tell. Mr. Roberts, the surgeon, told it so circumstantially to the Lieutenant Governor, Major Foveaux, that he afterwards treated me with particular kindness. This powerfully contributed to reconcile me to my fate: I had almost made up my mind to remain there for ever: the thoughts of home ceased to be importunate. In the mean time the exertions of my friend were indefatigable: he contrived to bring my case under the eye of our present Chief Governor, Lord Hardwicke, whose firmness, tempered by that clemency which distinguished his illustrious predecessor, was not to be warped by party-opposition. An injured subject, in the very Antipodes, was alike within the range of his power and attention. He listened with patience; he examined with impartiality; he decided with justice. An order from him hath set me free. At my return to Ireland I waited upon my ordinary, Doctor Coppinger; I represented to him the many hardships I had undergone; I referred him to the several proofs of my innocence, which had passed through his own hands, and which were now officially authenticated, by my warranted return to my native country. I reminded him that as I had a regular collation of my parish, and could not forfeit it by the unfounded charges alleged against me, nor by any subsequent misfortunes, I could not in justice be deprived of it, nor opposed by him in resuming my functions in that parish. He suggested in answer, that the strong prejudices which still seemed to prevail against me, rendered it in his mind imprudent, not to say unsafe, for me to return thither. Yet, when I remarked to him that the sending me to any other quarter, beside the injustice of such a step, would in a great degree reflect a censure upon me; that it would be an extreme of severity, while I was acquitted in the eyes of the government, and by the act of Lord Hardwicke, that he, my ordinary, and as I hoped my friend, should seem, in this way, to asperse me; he yielded to my remonstrance; I again took charge of my parish, where, with the assistance of God, I shall persevere in the most strenuous endeavours to maintain peace, industry, loyalty, and good order among my parishioners. A circumstance occurred upon

the present occasion, very trivial in itself, but which, as it gave rise to a most injurious representation, I feel myself bound to notice. Six or seven of Doctor Coppinger's clerks had been engaged to dine with him on the following day: he was pleased to ask me to join them; which, having done, I was since, in addition to my other crosses, extremely mortified to learn, that this plain private repast was magnified into a most sumptuous banquet given in honour of Mr. O'Neil's return. This glaring misstatement, which of itself would not have affected my ordinary, has been the cause of much uneasiness since: as seemingly connected with an intimation from a respectable character in Dublin, informing him that a personage in that metropolis of high rank and great power, misled by this false intelligence, had complained that Doctor Coppinger restored me to my parish, as a martyr in triumph, with insult to the offended justice of the laws, &c. &c.

I am neither commissioned nor qualified to vindicate the character of Doctor Coppinger, in this or in any other particular: I can only express my sorrow at having been thus the unintentional cause of this painful imputation. His character, wherever it is known, will be its own support; little does it stand in need of adventitious aid, much less of that which my poor depreciated suffrage can administer. He has, I learn, drawn up a narrative, which such misrepresentation, if long continued, will call upon him to publish.—I have now, my lords and gentlemen, to apologize for the tedious length of this elucidation, which I humbly submit to you, in the hope that I am not now in your mind the sort of person you have been taught to consider me. I will also hope that the urgency of my case will effectually plead in excuse for my presumption in thus publicly addressing you; a liberty I shall never again, upon any account, assume. I commit myself with confidence to your humane consideration; and have the honour to be with the most profound respect, —— My lords and gentlemen, your most devoted, and most faithful, humble servant,

P. O'NEIL.

October 23, 1803.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—The latest French and German newspapers confirm the account, that the Beys of Egypt, after stipulating for certain privileges, have, finally, agreed to the convention proposed by the Turkish government, by which the possession of that country is secured to the Porte.—Ali Pasha has succeeded in driving the Suliotes, a Greek

7] tribe situated near Janina, from their native mountains; and Chiappa and Cogna have been taken by capitulation, and the inhabitants permitted to retire to Parga.—It is said that intelligence has been dispatched to Constantinople of the arrival of an adjutant of General St. Cyr, in the Morea; the avowed object of his visit is to purchase Turkish horses in the peninsula, for the use of the French army on the opposite side of the Adriatic, but the attention with which he inspects every thing, the Pasha of Janina is suspicious of his intentions.—It is reported that the First Consul of France has, unexpectedly, required from his Sicilian Majesty, the surrender of three fortresses of importance on the coast, which are to be garrisoned by French troops during the war: this request, however, the king, after holding a council of state, is said to have refused.—Throughout the whole Batavian Republic, the French are enforcing the decrees relative to British merchandize, with unrelenting severity. Wherever property of that description is discovered, it is immediately seized and confiscated. Some remonstrances have been made against these proceedings, and particularly one by the government of Zealand to the French General, Monnet, but they have all been ineffectual. Buonaparté is at Paris, and the legislative body is engaged in the discussion of the civil code.—Te Deum has been sung at Maastricht, for the restoration of health to that city.

DOMESTIC.—According to some late accounts from Ireland, it appears that the spirit of rebellion in that country has not yet subsided. Eleven persons have been very recently arrested at Cork, accused of belonging to a treasonable committee; and it has been rumoured that a rising was expected to take place in the county of Antrim. The city of Dublin, on the night of the 14th instant, was completely alarmed, and all the military were called out, but the circumstances which gave rise to this extraordinary vigilance is not yet known.—Astlett, who was, some time ago, convicted of taking exchequer bills from the Bank of England, and whose case was left for the decision of the judges, received sentence of death at the Old Bailey on the 20th inst.—During the two last weeks, nothing of particular importance has occurred in parliament, except the passing of the Irish Bank Restriction Bill by the House of Commons, Lord Grenville's motion relative to the issues of bank papers, and Mr. Yorke's motion relative to the volunteers, have been postponed, in consequence of the illness of his Majesty.—

The committee appointed to try the petition of Sir Thomas Turton, against the Southwark election, have decided in favour of Mr. Tierney.—The King * has been pleased to grant unto Major-General Sir John Francis Cradock, Knight, Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, his royal licence and permission, that he may receive and wear the Badge of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent, conferred on him by the Grand Signior.—He has, also, been pleased to appoint Major-General John Stuart to be Lieutenant Governor of his Majesty's island of Grenada.—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, has been pleased to appoint Mr. Sheridan, Receiver General of the Duchy of Cornwall, in the room of Lord Elliot, deceased.—Sir James Bontier, who succeeded Mr. Clapham, as Collector of his Majesty's Customs in the island of St. Lucie, is since appointed Ordnance Store-Keeper to the colony of Demerara.—On the 14th inst. the public was informed that the King had been so much indisposed, that Sir Francis Millman, Dr. Heberden, and Mr. Dundas had been called in to attend him; and a bulletin was communicated to the different branches of the royal family, stating that "His Majesty" is much indisposed to-day."—A cabinet council was held in the evening, which continued from eight until past three o'clock.—On the 15th the bulletin was, that "His Majesty is to-day much the same as he was yesterday," signed by "F. Millman and W. Heberden." These two gentlemen, together with Mr. Dundas sat up all night with the King. The Council met again at eight o'clock in the evening, and sat until past midnight.—On the 16th the Bulletin was, that "no material alteration has taken place since yesterday. F. Millman, W. Heberden." A meeting of the Council was held during the day, and another at night.—On the 17th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty has had several hours sleep, and seems to be refreshed by it. F. Millman, W. Heberden." Sir Lucas Pepys and Dr. Reynolds were also called in to attend his Majesty. The Council sat again on that day. The reports generally circulated were, that the King was certainly better.—On the 18th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty is much the same as yesterday, and we do not apprehend him to be in danger. L. Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. Heberden." The orders which had been

* These appointments were made previous to his Majesty's illness.

given at the Queen's House for the exclusion of all persons, except the Royal army, the medical gentlemen attending the King, those of the household, and Mr. Addington, were strictly observed. During the day, Mr. Addington had an audience with the Royal Family.—On the 19th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty has had a "good night, and is rather better to-day. " L. Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, "W. Heberden." Besides the gentlemen who signed the Bulletin, Dr. Symmonds, of St. Luke's, was called in. The general opinion during the day was, that his Majesty was better. A Cabinet Council was held at noon.—On the 20th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty continues much "the same as he was yesterday. L. Pepys, "H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. Heberden." From the favourable symptoms which appeared during the day, considerable hopes were entertained of the King's recovery. The Council met again at noon.—On the 21st, the Bulletin was, that "his "Majesty continues much the same as he "has been these two last days. L. Pepys, "H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. Heberden." One of the physicians was in constant attendance on the King during the whole day.—On the 22d, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty has had a good night, "and is rather better this morning. L. Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. Heberden." Besides the physicians already mentioned, Dr. Turton has attended the King. The Council sat again at eleven that morning. For the two last days the Equerry and Groom in waiting attended at the Queen's House.

NAVAL.—The naval preparations in the enemy's ports are again represented to be in such a state of forwardness as to enable them almost immediately to attempt an invasion. Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather which has prevailed in Holland for some time past, all the small vessels which have been built at different places, for the flotilla at Flushing, have passed along the canals to the place of rendezvous. About sixty vessels of from four to six hundred tons burthen remain at Amsterdam, intended for the troops at the Helder: at New Diep also, a large number of transports remains: on board of which troops are to be immediately embarked. At Flushing, which is the grand place of assemblage for the Batavian boats, &c. &c. the flotilla is complete, and it is said, only waits for orders to sail.—At Boulogne, too, notwithstanding the extent of the preparations there, it is reported that every thing is ready for immediate action, although it was asserted in

the accounts received last week, that all the armed vessels, transports, &c. which were to be assembled there could not be collected before the end of March.—An embargo has been laid on all vessels in Boulogne, and all the merchantmen at the place, amounting to upwards of fifty, have been taken into the service of the Republic. It is also said, that there are about two hundred and fifty flat-bottomed boats there, and that much exertion is made to get them ready for service.—The two frigates and twelve gun-vessels which were directed to be built in the ports of France, by the Italian Republic, are completed.—On the 17th instant, Capt. Brown, in the Squirrel, captured the French No. 626, called L'Esperanel, of forty tons burthen, and fitted to carry eight horses. She left Ostend the night before, and was bound to Boulogne.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

IRISH BANK PAPER.—The third reading of the bill for continuing the restriction on the Bank of Dublin brought forth, on the 21st instant, some facts and observations, which the public must consider as interesting. To the bill itself no objection was made; but, on the principle of it, and as to its general tendency, Lord Archibald Hamilton begged leave to state, that his opinion was not at all changed; and, Mr. Corry remarked, that he should say nothing upon these topics, seeing that they were "not regularly before the House," the simple question being, whether the restriction on the Bank of Dublin should be continued or not. This is a new and very favourite way of shortening discussions, or rather of preventing them altogether; for, if the principle and general tendency of restriction bills were not proper topics to be discussed upon this occasion, it is hard to say what were proper topics: indeed, if such doctrine prevails, there will soon be an end to all discussion whatever; and the pious Doctor, amongst his other achievements, will have reduced the conversation of the House of Commons to "yea yea" and nay nay."—Sir John Newport took occasion to make, on this occasion, some very pertinent remarks. He very clearly and concisely exposed the absurdity of the opinions given by Mr. Thornton, in a former debate upon this subject; * and he reminded those gentlemen, who seemed to attribute the loss upon the exchange between England and Ireland *solely* to the degradation of Irish bank paper, that there

* See the preceding sheet, p. 247, et seq.

are two other causes, which powerfully contributed towards that loss, namely, the money drawn from Ireland to England by non-resident landlords and others, and the interest of the Irish loans payable in England. The former of these he estimated at three millions annually; the latter at one million and a half; and, these four millions and a half, he observed, must be against any balance of trade which there might be annually, in favour of Ireland.—These two co-operating causes were very fairly stated. The transmission of so much money to non-residents must necessarily produce great effect on the course of exchange; and, as to the interest on the loans, the Irish gentlemen, who have supported, and who do support, Mr. Pitt's system, ought not to complain on account of any loss they thereby sustain. But, still, considerable share of the loss must arise from the depreciation of Irish bank paper. Here in England the paper has undergone virtual depreciation; but, in Ireland, the depreciation has actually and openly taken place, and people advertise for guineas at a premium of twelve and a half, and, in some instances, of fourteen per centum. The Irish are an odd people; they do not regard "guineas an useless and expensive incumbrance"! What idiots they are!—Irish bank notes are a legal tender, in the same way that English bank notes are: they are, in fact, the only money which a landlord can demand from his tenant; and, as they have, from causes which are evident enough, sunk faster than English bank notes, the landlord cannot expect to have an equal amount of English bank notes in exchange for them, especially while there is so much more money to be sent from Ireland to England than from England to Ireland.—The gentlemen who have complained of this evil, this very material deduction from their incomes, seem to attribute too great a part of the same to the Irish bank directors and their company, asserting that, while the paper is daily falling lower and lower, the bank directors and their associates are sharing greater dividends than ever; and, it is alleged even that the capital of the bankers bear but a very slight proportion to the amount of the paper that they have issued. But, do not these complainants mistake the instrument by which they are wounded for the hand by which that instrument is wielded? Or, do they think it more prudent to inveigh against the former than it is to inveigh against the latter? The bank directors and bank company of Ireland are no more than the instruments in the hands of the

ministers for the time being: they *must* add to or diminish the quantity of their paper, not according to the orders of the ministers, but according to the demands, which, by loans or taxes, those ministers create; and, it were well if the Irish members would recollect, that, when they are voting for loans and taxes, they are voting, absolutely voting, for a further issue, and consequently a further depreciation, of bank paper; which depreciation, as we have before seen, is, in part at least, the cause of the loss, which, while residents in England, they experience from the difference of exchange. The evil they complain of is not to be attributed to the bank directors so much as to the ministers; not to the ministers so much as to the national debt; not to the national debt simply, so much as to the funding system generally. Mr. Forster intimated his intention to move for an inquiry into the state of the currency and the banking affairs of Ireland. Such an inquiry will be of service, because it must bring forth additional proofs of the total uselessness of all partial remedies.—In the course of the conversation in the House of Commons, a fact of considerable importance came out. Lord Archibald Hamilton stated, with many apologies, the necessity of which was by no means evident, that, while the difference of the exchange between the two countries was so great as 18 or 19 per centum, the Lords of the Treasury of Ireland received their salaries at par; to which Mr. Corry replied, that, not only the Lords of the Irish Treasury, but all the officers of the Irish government, whose official duties called them to England, did certainly receive their salaries at par! This is neither more nor less than making an addition to those salaries without consent of Parliament; and, if it be not regularly and fully inquired into, adieu to all that guardianship of the public purse, of which we have frequently heard so much talk. There are many military officers, upon the Irish establishment, whose duty calls them to England. Members of Parliament themselves are, by their duty, called to England. Does the government make to all these gentlemen a compensation for what they lose by the difference of exchange? But, as it is impossible to suppose that this matter will not undergo a Parliamentary inquiry, no more need be said on it at present.

BRITISH FINANCES.—The readers of the Register will recollect the several instances, in which I have foretold, that there would appear, at the close of 1803, a very serious defalcation in the revenue. The

state of the surplus of the Consolidated Fund has not yet been laid before Parliament, and, therefore, upon that particular topic I shall not, at present, enter; but, an account of the produce of the taxes has been laid before Parliament, and, it is with respect to the facts and symptoms which that paper exhibits, that I beg leave to request the attention of all those who wish to see the country duly prepared for the crisis which is approaching.—The paper, to which I refer, is entitled, “An account of the net produce of the permanent taxes of Great Britain, in the years ending 5th of January, 1803, and 5th of January, 1804 respectively, distinguishing each year.” Why these annual accounts are made up to the 5th day of January, except for the express purpose of confusion, it would be hard to say; but so it is, and therefore, in speaking of the year ending 5th January, 1803, we will call it the year 1802, and in speaking of the year ending the 5th of January 1804, we will call it the year 1803.—Having thus swept this Exchequer rubbish out of the way, I proceed to observe, that, according to this account, the taxes produced in the year 1802, amount to 27,531,356l. and those produced in 1803, amounted to 30,710,747l. Besides this latter sum, there is the amount of the war-taxes, collected in 1803; but, as these are entirely separate, I shall speak of them separately.—From a cursory view of the two sums above mentioned, it would appear, that a very considerable increase had taken place in the taxes; or, to use the words which the minister put into his Majesty’s last speech, that the revenue had been greatly “improved.” But, let it be observed, that, in the year 1802, there was paid, in corn bounties, the sum of 1,633,587l. These corn bounties are paid at the custom-house, out of the proceeds of the taxes collected there, and, of course, the taxes paid into the exchequer are so much less on that account. Therefore, as there have been no corn bounties paid in the year 1803, we must, in making a comparison between the net produce of the two years, add this 1,633,587l. to the sum paid into the exchequer in 1802. Then, we must remember, that, in the year 1803, there were new taxes, which taxes were imposed in 1802, but did not come into the receipt of that year, to the amount of 2,827,783l. And also other new taxes imposed and collected in the year 1803 to the amount of 139,436l., both which sums must, in this comparative view, be deducted from the total net produce of the year 1803.

Net produce of permanent taxes in the year 1802	27,531,356
Add corn bounties paid at the custom-house in the year 1802	1,633,587
	29,164,943

Net produce of permanent taxes in the year 1803	30,710,747
Deduct for new taxes	2,967,219
	27,743,528

Defalcation in the year 1803	£. 1,421,491
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This is the Doctor’s “improvement” of the revenue! A falling off of 1,421,491l. the year 1803, is here clearly proved to have taken place. There was more money actually collected in the year 1803 than in 1802; but, there was, in the former year, the sum of 2,967,219l. added in new taxes, whereas the addition to the produce of the year was only 1,545,802l.—To this sum of defalcation we must add, too, half a million at least, for the depreciation of money. The principle upon which this is done was stated in Vol. IV. p. 857 and 858, to which I beg the reader to refer; and, if he agree with me as to that principle, he will also agree with me, that, during the last year, the Doctor’s “improvement” of the revenue has been exhibited in a *falling off of two millions sterling*—We will now look at this matter in another point of view. Hitherto we have compared year against year, and we should have contented ourselves with finding that there was no falling off; no decrease in the produce of any of the taxes; but, we must now compare the result of the year’s experience with the flattering promises of the Doctor, and with the “magnificent receipts” anticipated by Lord Auckland.

Estimate of Lord Auckland, of the amount of the net revenue for 1803, including lottery, and land tax, and malt tax	34,840,618
Actual produce of the year 1803, according to the above account	30,710,747
Deduct new taxes imposed since the date of Lord Auckland’s estimate	139,436
	30,571,311

Add land tax and lottery	1,750,217
	32,321,528
Defalcation in Lord Auckland’s magnificent receipts	2,518,608

I have observed, that the war-taxes were not included in the above. The public will recollect, and, by and by, they will feel, that, in June last, the Doctor imposed what he called war-taxes, to the annual estimated amount of 12,500,000l. But, it must be allowed, that he did not count upon so large a sum being raised from this source during the year 1803. Let us hear his own words:

The committee, however, must be aware, that, though Parliament may determine to raise so large a part of the supplies for the service of the year, yet it must be obvious, that a very considerable part of this sum cannot be raised within the *present* year. I will therefore, only calculate the sum to be produced by these taxes in this year, at 4,500,000l.* Now, what is the result? What says the account, which has been laid before Parliament, relative to these war-taxes? Why, it says, that, in the year 1803, the Doctor has collected from these taxes 1,874,072l. instead of 4,500,000. There is a fact that admits of no subterfuge, evasion, no shuffle. The Doctor told the House of Commons, "the guardians of the public purse," that he calculated upon 500,000l. from this source; and, it has yielded him much less than half that sum. We shall be told, perhaps, that the deficit owing to the delay in collecting the income-tax; but, let it be recollect, that the whole year's income-tax was reckoned at only 4,500,000l., and that, supposing it to have been postponed from some cause not at all injurious to its future success, the sum collected from the other war-taxes ought to have been about *three* millions, whereas it actually is only about *one* million and *four-fifths*. In fact, who does not perceive, that these taxes will fail, that they will not yield much above one half of the amount at which they have been estimated, or, yielding more, will, in the same degree, impoverish the old taxes? Who does not perceive that other taxes must be resorted to, or that we must again have recourse to loans? The Doctor boasted, really boasted, a little while ago, that he had laid new taxes upon the people to the amount of 17,000,000l. annually! If he could collect them, it would not then be much to boast of; but, if he ever collects 10 out of the 17 millions, there will remain, in my mind, no doubt of his having dealings with Satan. He may go on imposing taxes, for I see nothing to stop him. He may tax our eyes and limbs, our fingers and toes, and all the hairs of our head, one by one; but, unless he can collect, as well as impose, to that end are his impositions? — Want of time compels me to break off, or it was my intention to enquire, *how long* the Doctor's chances could possibly last. In my next the subject shall be resumed.

Lord Redesdale and his correspondence shall be the subject of some future sheet. The reader will find some valuable matter relative to it in the former part of this sheet.

All the correspondence should be read with attention. Ireland is now the interesting part of the empire. In her fields, it is very probable, that the fate of England will be decided. Lord Redesdale complains of his letters being *published*. Why? Did he imagine that this new book of homilies was to be kept hidden from the world? What he regarded as likely to be so useful to preserve the loyalty of Lord Fingal was surely as likely to effect the same purpose amongst the catholics at large. What! his lordship's modesty would, then, have led him to hide his candle under a bushel! He did not wish us to know, that, to the other talents which render him "a truly great character," he added that of being a polemic divine! But, it is to be hoped, that this correspondence will, at no very distant day, become the subject of serious inquiry; for, is it possible, that, while three-fourths of the people of Ireland are led to believe, that the persons to whom his Majesty has committed the immediate power of ruling them, look upon them in the light, in which they are regarded and described by Lord Redesdale: is it possible, that, while this is the case, there can be any real content and tranquillity in that country? This is a question on which the fate of the British empire is deeply involved.

ARMY OF RESERVE.—The raising men for this body is pretty nearly at a stand, though there are yet 15,000 wanted to complete the number specified in the act of parliament. The source is dried up, as it was foretold, long enough ago. Men are not to be had, neither for this body nor for the militia, until there are some released from the volunteer corps. A delightful situation we are reduced to! The whole business of recruiting is at a stand; and, of course, the army is daily upon the *decrease*! How long, good God! how long are we to remain in this situation? Are we to stand thus, till the enemy comes and puts the yoke round our necks? The ministerial hirelings affect, with awkward grin, to despise the accounts which the French papers give of our fears, our indecision, our stupor; but, those accounts are perfectly true. "England presents the picture of a ship sailing through *new seas*, exposed to the rage of storms, and conducted by pilots without skill, unsteady in their course, disagreeing as to the line they ought to pursue, and evidently of that class of pilots by whom ships are lost." Never was there a truer picture drawn; and, when the ministerial slaves express their wish, that the people of France might view our "envied happiness," they talk like guzzlers and

* See Register, Vol. III, p. 909.

gormandizers, like animals without sentiment, creatures whose views extend no further than the covering of the back and the feeding of the belly. Such creatures, if they formed a vast majority of the nation, never long remained free, and never deserved so to remain for one single moment.

MR. SHERIDAN.—This gentleman has, within these few days, been appointed, by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to a place worth *two thousand* pounds a year.

—The long silence of Mr. Sheridan gave occasion to some one to compare him to a duck: “he is under water at present,” it was said, “but you’ll see him come up again, by and by. Exactly where no one knows; but up he’ll come when he finds a favourable opportunity.” This prediction is now partly fulfilled; but, the diver has undergone a change during his disappearance. He went down a *patriot*, and is come up a *placeman*. We shall now hear no more battered jests about cheese-parings and candle-ends. Let Mr. Sheridan now look back to the speech from which my motto is taken, and say how much he intends to give out of his sinecure income towards “*finding bread for the labouring poor*.” The labouring poor want bread now, full as much as they did in 1797; nor has he any better right to keep his salary to himself than any other placeman has; and, he must, therefore, excuse me if I trouble him with one more letter, in order to inquire on what he founders his pretensions to two thousand pounds a year of the public money.

INVASION.—The reports of approaching invasion thicken again; and, seeing how we are now situated, it would not be very surprising if it were attempted. It is said, that the French fleet is got out of Toulon. That fleet may easily raise the blockade of Ferrol, and, thus reinforced, may reach Ireland; at the same time that another attempt is made upon England from Boulogne, and another upon Scotland from Holland. There is least fear for Ireland, seeing that Lord Redesdale is there. His lordship has only to discharge a tirade of letters upon the enemy; and, if they should still advance, they will be in such a state of stupification, that they must fall an easy prey to the loyal volunteers.—If these invasions should take place, we shall, in both countries, be in the full enjoyment of all the blessings to be derived from the protecting influence of “truly great characters.” That “truly great character,” Mr. Colonel John Hiley Addington, respecting whom Mr. Plowden relates a pretty anecdote

or two*, will most probably be at the head of his corps, collected from Hannah More’s Sunday Schools in the Mendip Hills. What the “truly great character,” his brother may be, it is very hard to guess.—It will however, become us, the people of the kingdoms, to be prepared for fighting; if the French invade us, we may rest assured, that it will not be child’s play. I greatly fear, for my part, that, for several years past, public spirit has been making a renegade motion; that it has been drooping as to the state in which it was in June last. No man has any confidence in the ministry. All is apprehension with respect to the measures. All is uncertainty, doubt, suspicion, and dread. If we are thus found by the enemy, what must be our fate?

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Public will recollect, that, in the month of August last, a most atrocious libel was published against me by Mr. Henry, formerly a player at the Royalty Theatre and now the proprietor of the True Briton and Sun newspapers, under the patronage and protection of Messrs. Rose and Long. It will be remembered, that in consequence of my going to this man for information respecting the origin of the libel, he behaved in a most insolent manner, and that he afterwards pretended I assaulted him, and actually had the impudence to cause a bill of indictment to be found against me and a friend at the Quarter Sessions, whence I had the further assurance to remove the indictment into the Court of King’s Bench, where the trial was expected to come before Lord Ellenborough, this week.—So conscious was I of the goodness of my cause, and so perfect was my reliance on the discernment and justice of the Court and Jury, that, notwithstanding I had engaged three Counsellors, among whom were Messrs. Erskine and Garrow, had resolved to make my own defence, I was in attendance accordingly, till the Jury called up the cause, when, to my utter amazement, Mr. Garrow rose, and, by his client’s direction, *withdrew the record*!! There needs no comment on this at present. I have, however, when occasion serves, some facts to state and some documents to submit to the public, respecting this transaction, others more or less connected with it.

* See Mr. Plowden’s account of J. H. Addington’s snatching a letter out of his hand and putting it in the fire!!!—Plowden’s Posthumous Volume, just published.